#### SECRET

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY CENTRAL INTELLIBENCE AGENCY SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B NAZIWAR CRIMES DISCLOBURE ACTUATE 2007

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director for Operations

SUBJECT: FY 1983 Renewal of Activity PDDYNAMIC

### PURPOSE:

PDDYNAMIC is the operational activity under which a controlled subsidy supports the Ukrainian Liberation Council (ZP/UHVR) and more directly its publishing and operational element, Prolog research Corporation, located in New York. affiliate in Munich, the Ukrainian Society for Studies Abroad, publishes a monthly political-literary magazine Suchasnist (Contemporary Times), books, pamphlets, and leaflets (primarily in Ukrainian but occasionally in Russian) for infiltration and clandestine distribution into the Soviet Ukraine, or for passing to official Soviet representatives or travelers The main purpose of the group's activities and publications is to provide intellectual and moral support to those Ukrainian oppositional groups who seek social and economic moderation of the Soviet political system and who encourage liberalizing trends among various strata of the Ukrainian population who oppose the repressive Soviet policy of enforced Russification. This activity is in furtherance of DDO Objective T.

2. This activity is in compliance with the provisions of Section 662 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, in that it is covered by a Presidential Finding dated 7 June 1978 and has been reported to the appropriate Congressional committees.

### **ACCOMPLISHMENTS:**

3. In FY 82 an estimated total of 27,200 items of PDDYNAMIC-produced literature were infiltrated into the Soviet Union including 9,200 copies of the journal Suchasnist; 5,000 issues of the letter-sized Information Bulletin; 7,500 books; 2,000 editions of their new bulletin entitled The Ukrainian Worker, which focuses on worker disent in the Ukraine and elsewhere in the USSR, and assorted pamphlets and booklets published by Prolog. Distribution methods include the following: hand carry by travellers to the Ukraine; mailing from Eastern Europe: mailing from the West and direct passage to soviet Ukrainians travelling in the West. A major accomplishment of the Activity has been to distribute miniaturized versions of their publications into the target area.

- Operating through members and sympathizers, the Activity's organization continued a comprehensive traveller program to various areas of Ukraine both to infiltrate literature and maintain internal contacts. This program enabled Prolog to cultivate links with Ukrainian dissidents. obtain a wide variety of samizdat material, and gather information on political socio-economic and cultural conditions in the Republic. This information has been provided to SE Division reports officers who have found these contributions to be useful and, on several occasions, worth disseminating to the Intelligence Community. During this period the activity's organization also conducted a special project geared to the Ukrainian minority in Poland. Members were sent to Poland to distribute publications, make contacts with dissident elements within Poland, and provide technical support to those elements. As a result, we now have mailing capabilities from several Polish cities to the Ukraine, as well as limited printing facilities and storage areas within Poland.
- 5. The Activity continued its debriefing program involving Western travellers to Ukraine, as well as visitors and "third-wave" emigres from the UKSSR and Poland. These debriefings, which took place in the US, Canada, and Western Europe provided valuable data on such questions as the nationalities problem in the USSR, the state of the economy in Ukraine, recent popular reactions to events in Afghanistan and Poland, as well as valuable information concerning the emergent workers movement, including recent news of strike activity, originating on Ukrainian soil.
- In FY 81, one of the organization's major accomplishments was the development of contacts with Polish dissident publications such as Kultura, Spotkania, and Nowa. During the FY 82 reporting period a media placement center was established in Paris under the joint sponsorhsip of PDDYNAMIC, the Spotkania representative in Paris , and the This center will well-known Soviet dissident Leonid Plyushch. work to expand contacts within the emigre community; promote the distribution of appropriate literature; make press placements; help in production and distribution of miniaturized books; establish close links with L'Alternative, a French language journal concerned with East European and Soviet dissident affairs; become a focal point for contact with recent emigre intellectuals from Eastern Europe and the USSR. Spotkania has also agree to publish Ukrainian materials, PDDYNAMIC continues to work closely with Solidarity representatives outside of Poland.

- The Prolog group has significantly increased its contacts with Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian dissident circles and other nationality groups abroad, as well as with several East European organizations. By strengthening contacts with emigre groups such as the Russians, Lithuanians, Czechs, Armenians, Georgians and Crimean Tatars, Prolog insured that Ukrainian samizdat literature, as well as Prolog publications on the nationality issue, would be translated into Russian and other indigenous languages and circulated throughout the Soviet This effort also included the distribution of literature, primarily history books, into Armenia, Lithuania and Soviet Central Asia. In addition, the Prolog group has expanded contacts with several anti-Soviet Jewish dissident groups abroad, including Israel, and helped promote closer Ukrainian-Jewish cooperation by publishing a number of articles in Suchasnist by well-known Jewish dissident authors.
- 8. PDDYNAMIC's contacts with the PRC are on the verge of producing tangible results. PDDYNAMIC/57 (D/57) traveled to the PRC in late 1981 and in the summer of 1982. During the most recent trip D/57 met with the Director of Radio Peking and discussed the possibility of setting-up Ukrainian-language and Uzbek-language broadcasts by Radio Pekin. The PRC government appears to be quite serious about this project and  $\bar{D}/57$  has been asked to provide material that can be used for these The PRC government may also agree to accept a Ukrainian broadcaster selected by D/57 to work in China on the broadcasts to the Soviet Union. Discussions on a PRC proposal for an exchange of researchers have progressed to the point where financial arrangements are being negotiated. The Chinese have also provided D/57 with five addresses in the PRC where books dealing with minority issues as well as Soviet foreign policy are to be sent. To date he has sent several hundred books to China and plans for future shipments are in the works. Since no restrictions were placed on D/57 by the Chinese, we encouraged him to include books which will also have an impact on the Chinese perception of the Soviet threat.

# EFFECTIVENESS:

9. The effectiveness of the Prolog publication and distribution program is attested to by recent emigres and travellers to the Soviet Union a well as by noted Ukrainian and Russian dissidents. Of the latter, for example, both Leb Kopelev, the noted Russian writer and translator now living in West Germany, and Mrs. Andrei Sakharov (via several notes written to PDDYNAMIC/57) praised Prolog publications, especially in terms of its reporting and impact on Soviet

nationality issues. In addition, Ukrainian dissidents Vyacheslaw Chornovil and Ivan Svitlychnyy reported that Suchasnist and other Prolog publications are held in high esteem by a wide segment of the Ukrainian reading public and by dissident and non-dissident literary circles alike. recent interview with Prolog, Volodymyr Malenkovych, a former member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in Kiev, stated that Prolog publications are well regarded by Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian dissident groups. Similarly, it has been reported that the Ukrainian community in Poland is extremely positive toward prolog publications and programs. Similar views have also been expressed by leading members of the Polish opposition groups and by leading figures within Solidarity. addition, there has been a continued campaign in the Soviet press directed against the "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists" in general and the Prolog organization in particular by such Soviet organ as <u>Vsevit</u>, <u>Rabochaya Gazeta</u>, <u>Vil'na Ukrayina</u>, <u>Tashkent's Lenin Bayraghi</u>, as well as <u>Kul'tura i Zhittya</u>, <u>Visti</u> z Ukrayiny, and Vitchyzna. That the Soviet campaign has not been successful can be seen by the fact that there has been an increased demand recently for Prolog-produced books in Poland and Ukraine, that Prolog's articles and publications continue to be reprinted and reproduced in the target areas and that its popularity has begun to filter down into the working class level.

### PROBLEMS:

- 10. According to the results of an Agency audit, Prolog salaries should be increased in order to attract suitable individuals to succeed outgoing personnel and to adequately compensate the present staff, who are not being paid salaries comensurate with their responsibilities and accomplishments. we believe that the requested increases in the FY 1983 and FY 1984 budgets will alleviate this problem and will enable Prolog to offer more competitive and realistic salaries to its personnel and potential candidates.
- 11. Prolog's archives are in a state of deterioration. This fact, coupled with a lack of storage space (even in their new office) has lead us to conclude that the purchase of a microfilm system is in order. Prolog would also use this system operationally as we will discuss in the plans section of this report. Also, it is possible that copies of the microfilmed material from the archives could be sold to libraries and institutions such as the Ukrainian Research Center at Harvard, which would help defray some of the costs involved.

12. Prolog has recently moved to new offices within this same building they have occupied for many years. A further move to New Jersey, which would be beneficial for reasons of cost and of security, has been discussed. The general consensus is that this move should be made. The purchase of a site in New Jersey and the question of the current lease will be topics of further discussion during FY 1983.

### PLANS:

- Plans for future operations being discussed with PDDYNAMIC/57 include the infiltration into the Ukraine of a rubber stamping device that prints anti-war slogans; the infiltration of anti-war posters into the Soviet Union; the infiltration of proscribed literature using books which appear to be real titles acceptable to the Soviet regime but which, in fact, have interchangeable centers and, the creation of a trucking firm which would operate out of West Germany and would be used as a channel for distribution of Prolog's products. As well as other proscribed material. in addition, five new project proposals appear particulary attractive: the opening of a small branch office in London; a new office in Tokyo: the hiring of a researcher on a contractural basis to work in New York and provide the organization with background materials for the operational and publications programs; the publication of a Russian language quarterly entitled "Forum" which would deal with nationalities problems inside the USSR; and the purchase of a microfilm system.
- A. The London office would increase operational capabilities in Europe. A young British citizen of Ukrainian descent is being considered to head this office. He has been much involved in book distribution via Poland into the Ukraine and has close links with emigre organizations in the U.K. and with established groups inside Poland and the Ukraine. He would, of course, maintain these contacts as well as look for new groups and individuals to assist the program.
- B. PDDYNAMIC/57 recently returned from a trip to Japan where he met with several members of the Japanese Parliament and members of an anti-Soviet Human Rights Group. He was well received in Japan. Several individuals agreed to assist the DYNAMICS in developing distribution channels for anti-Soviet and anti-war materials into the Soviet Union. The DYNAMICS plan to open a one-man office in Tokyo in order to facilitate greater cooperation between the DYNAMICS and those groups in Japan which have long been engaged in anti-Soviet

activities, such as protests against the Soviet occupation of the Kuril Islands and the war in Afghanistan. As illustrated by the recent anti-war poster campaign, which we reported in a 25 January spot report, these Japanese groups are highly motivated and very effective. They can undoubtedly be very useful in support of our plans to stimulate an anti-war and pro-peace movement in the USSR.

- C. A former employee of Prolog would be hired on a contractual basis to provide current analyses of events within the Soviet Ukraine. This information would then be used in the preparation of operations in the Ukraine. In addition, given the decline in the flow of samizdat material from the Ukraine, it has become necessary to analyze overt sources, such as the Soviet Ukrainian Press, in greater detail in order to gain those insights into life in the Ukraine which prove to be so valuable in the preparation of Prolog's publications. The researcher would be able to devote the necessary time and energy to this task which has, until now, been done on an ad hoc basis by staff members primarily engaged in other activities.
- D. The first and second issue of Forum has been printed and upon review has been found to be sufficiently high qualitiy to merit additional support. The editor of the journal is a former member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group. He has been able to organize an editorial board of prominent emigres interested in promoting the ideas of national liberation of the non-Russian nations of the USSR, as well as statehood and democray for "Russia." We expect the journal to have a positive impact on the target by sensitizing Russians to the nationality question and by being a valuable source of information on the efforts being made in this area throughot the Soviet Union.
- E. Current operational requirements and new projects being developed, necessitate the purchase of a microfilm sysem. This system would be used to microfilm books, pamphlets and other materials for distribution into the target area. Needless to say putting these materials on microfilm would make the task of infiltrating them into the Soviet Union much easier to accomplish. In order to carry out these plans an additional lis required for FY 1983 and for FY 1984. The additional of Fv 1983 funds were reprogrammed with the DDO from

### COSTS:

# Source of Funds

Funds for PDDYNAMIC were included in the IAD/SAG operational program for FY 1983 in the amount of We request that an additional be reprogrammed for FY 1984.

### Budget

See attached breakdown

## Foreign Funds

No foreign currency problems

### Commitments

No additional commitments have been made to the QRDYNAMICS since the establishment of their pension plan.

### Funding

In accordance with the approved administrative plan

# Accountability

All funds are accounted for in accordance with Agency regulations and the approived administrative plan

	FY 1982	FY 1983*	FY 1984**	FY-8:
Cash Resources  Beginning Cash Balance Agency Subsidy Book Sales & Subscr. Total Cash Avail.	\$ 3.000 85,000	\$ 5 000 3 89,000	\$ 5.000 90,000	95,0
Less Expenditures Ending Cash Balance	\$548,000	\$932,600	\$630,000	
Expenditures Fixed Expenditures New York Office	\$173,000 42,000	\$245,600 122,000	\$190,000 51,000	
Sub-toal Fixed Expenses Operating Expenses	\$215,000	\$367,600	\$241,000	
Publishing Costs Microfilm System & Mat. Purchase of Books and	\$165,000	\$199,000	\$185,000	<u>,</u>
Periodicals Distribution Costs Affiliated Group-Munich London Office Tokyo Office	3,000 18,000 79,000	3,000 62,000 85,000 45,000 73,000	4,000 30,000 90,000	
Research & Contact Ops Operational Travel and Entertainment	53,000 15,000	55,000	60,000 20,000	
Sub-total Operating Expenses	\$333,000	\$565,000	\$389,000	
Total Expenditures	\$548,000	\$932,600	\$630,000	

<sup>\*</sup>Reprogrammed figures used \*\*Row figures for FY 84 used; to be reprogrammed funds not included